The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 30 April 1978
Seventeenth Year - No. 837 - By air

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Grim Nato meeting on nuclear balance

Five Nato Defence Ministers met in Frederikshavn in Denmark recently to discuss the West's nuclear strength in relation to the Soviet Union's power. Their conclusions were sober and sobering, even if one cannot talk of the bankruptcy of the West.

The Soviet Union has continued arms production and development since the start of the Vienna talks on troop reductions in Europe and the second round of Salt negotiations. There is no evidence that it has let up in its efforts to build up its offensive capacity against West Europe.

On the contrary: acording to the Nato nuclear planning group, two new, long-range weapons have since been produced which could be aimed at European targets:

– The Soviet middle-range missile SS-20. One hundred and twenty of these are installed on moible launching ramps.

– The Soviet long-range assault aircraft Backfire, now rapidly being switched to airfields in Western Russia. It has a range of 3000 kilometres and can attack Western ships in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean or on European coasts or drop nuclear warheads on targets on the European continent.

Apart from this, the Russian air and Russian land forces are to be equipped with new nuclear attack systems. Moscow is also increasing the capacity of its rocket artillery field weapons. The Nato forces' superiority in tactical nuclear weapons is getting smaller every year. At the present rate, the Soviet Union will be equal here by 1980.

The Defence Ministers do not believe that this means Europe could not be defended. Of course, the American deterrent will have to remain credible and American forces will have to remain on European soil if swift and large-scale retaliatory action by the US is to be guaranteed in the event of aggression.

This also means that the alliance must modernise its weapons systems in two areas: conventional anti-tank defences and aircraft defences have to be brought up to date; the tactical nuclear armament of Nato forces has to be modernised.

This subject, along with the analysis of comparative nuclear strength, had high priority at the nuclear planning group conference. For the European partners, the equipping of American and European armed forces with tactical nuclear weapons systems was the most urgent question.

The planning group has said that the new weapons systems must meet the following military and political requirements:

1. Accuracy will have to be improved, so that these weapons can be concentrated with maximum effectiveness on military targets and the damage to surrounding areas reduced.

2. Greater operational flexibility is needed. This can be achieved by what American technical experts describe as "tailor-made" warheads, warheads whose destructive power and radiation can be regulated in each case according to the target.

3. The weapons have to be more mobile and better protected against attack, that is, less vulnerable.

This last requirement assumes increasing importance in view of the continuing strengthening and improvement of Moscow's assault capacities on the Continent.

The Soviet doctrine does not envisage a war opening with a general atomic attack, but with selective nuclear strikes to support major offensives. These attacks would be directed mainly against Nato's major known tactical nuclear weapons systems in Western Europe.

In this situation Nato cannot forego a rapid modernisation and improvement of its nuclear weapons unless the Salt talks lead to agreement on arms ceilings following by a reduction in assault capacity.

The members of the nuclear planning group took this into account, but there is no sign of Soviet willingness to make concessions. After the meeting, one Minister said he could not see why the Russians should offer to make concessions in return for Nato postponing production of the neutron bomb.

The Defence Ministers looked at the Task Force 10 report on ways of improving nuclear armament in Europe. The heads of government will have to make a decision on this at their summit meeting at the end of May in Washington.

American Defence Secretary Brown had previously announced that the new nuclear weapons would be installed in Europe within the next two years.

These weapons would be used, for instance, on Lance short-range rockets and on aircraft and artillery systems. They would differ in their effect from the neutron bomb, not causing increased radiation, though they could, if necessary, later be adjusted to do so.

Nato will not be able to avoid a political decision on the introduction of these weapons.

The possible doubling of the Pershing 2 rocket's range from 750 to 1500 kilometres is of particular interest. This brings into the foreground the question of if and when cruise missiles should be equipped with conventional or nuclear warheads. These mobile weapons, which can be launched from the ground or from ships, will only be available in three to five years' time, that is, after the moratorium envisaged in the Salt II agreement which would ban the installation of such sea and ground-launched cruise missiles with a range of more than 700 kilometres.

All these considerations meant that the big emotional debate on the neutron bomb did not get off the ground. A high-ranking Nato official said: "The neutron bomb met all the requirements, and anyway we were only planning to equip a small percentage of Lance rockets with neutron warheads."

These thoughts indicate the dilemma Nato is in. On the one hand, it wants to negotiate with the Soviet Union on certain specific tactical nuclear weapons while keeping the general question of tactical nuclear armament out of negotiations. At the same time it has to modernise its nuclear armaments in Europe.

Lothar Ruehl
(Die Zeit, 21 April 1978)

IN THIS ISSUE

The German Tribune Political Affairs Review is included with this issue.



Nato Secretary-general Joseph Luns and Defence Minister Hans Apel take time off to smile for the press before the meeting of the five Nato Defence Ministers' nuclear planning group in Frederikshavn, Denmark.

Iran state visit

The Shah of Iran and President Walter Scheel in conversation during the President's three-day state visit to Iran on his way back from Japan. (Photos: dpa)

■ **FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Scheel strikes note of joint responsibility in Japan

President Walter Scheel's state visit to Japan was evidence that, notwithstanding all cultural differences, the Federal Republic of of Germany and the Land of the Rising Sun are old friends with a great attraction for each other.

At the gala dinner in the Tokyo Imperial Palace, Herr Scheel said: "We have both endeavoured to grasp the essence and depth of our way of thinking and the substance of our civilisations." He stressed the affinity between the two nations — and not out of mere politeness.

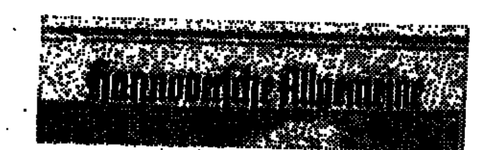
This affinity, he said, justified the hope that Japan and the Federal Republic "will do justice in close accord to the responsibility of modern industrial states for the future of mankind and peace." The gentle exhortation was unmistakable.

There is, however, one problem in this friendship: where world markets are concerned, the Japanese industrial giant seems to be doing less than justice to conciliatory Asian gentleness.

Japanese cameras and electronics reign supreme and their motorcycles are now followed by cars.

At the same time, Nippon is defending its domestic markets against goods from abroad.

Germany's trade balance with Japan is in the red, and President Scheel, who mastered the county welcoming cere-



imony in Tokyo with elegance in cutaway and top hat, wants to be more than just a figurehead.

Like his predecessor Gustav Heinemann, Walter Scheel is trying to be a political President within the framework of the Constitution — and preferably a bit beyond it.

Mincing no words during a breakfast with journalists in the Akasaka Palace, he said: "I am an instrument of foreign policy."

During all his talks in Japan, Herr Scheel promoted a political objective beyond bilateral relations. What he wants is common responsibility and action by democratic industrial nations in solving the world's economic and political problems.

Herr Scheel named them as the international economic and monetary crisis, the North-South conflict, disarmament and raw materials and energy issues.

Deeply concerned, Herr Scheel described the international crisis to Japanese politicians as "one of the most dangerous moments in history."

Disaster threatened future generations unless the crisis was mastered in a joint effort.

A prerequisite of success, he stressed repeatedly, was the functioning of the trilateral relations between the United States, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who attended all political talks, made it clear that the President's views were those of the Federal government, confirming this at a press conference.

But these trilateral relations can only be as good as the individual relations between the three leading industrial nations. And there is room for improvement — not only between Bonn and Washington, or Tokyo and Washington, but also between Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, notwithstanding old friendship and accord on fundamental political issues.

German business representatives who, at a meeting with Herr Scheel in Tokyo, complained about difficulties on the Japanese market were encouraged by the President not to shirk risks and to develop new sales strategies.

Following the lamentations of business representatives, Herr Scheel arrived at conclusions anything but flattering, saying that German business was evidently more frightened of the Japanese market than the market was frightened of German business.

It was not the politicians' job to engage in market research he said. But politicians could help to reduce protectionism intended to help national economies while harming free world trade.

All parties had been at fault, Herr Scheel said at a reception: "We all live according to the rule that he who wants to buy much must also sell much. I have the impression that but two countries have realised this and that they are acting accordingly."

All in all, Herr Scheel would like to see more German activity in Japan, and 1978 seems to be fulfilling this wish with talk of a "German Year" in Tokyo.

This seems to be have been inaugurated by the President, who went from Tokyo to Osaka and Kyoto.

The German naval training ship *Deutschland* arrived in Japan with Herr Scheel and is moored in Tokyo.

The cadet choir performed at a banquet in honour of the Emperor, singing Rhineland songs at his request.

The Solingen (President Scheel's birthplace) Men's Choir, Wupperhof, had also come to Japan, providing entertainment at a reception in the President's honour given by Bonn ambassador Diehl.

Later this year, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt will also visit Japan.

Before then, the heads of government of Japan, the Federal Republic and the United States will meet at the Economic Summit in Bonn, perhaps fulfilling President Scheel's wishes for the industrial states.

In a cable to Herr Scheel, President Carter has already pledged his active support. It reached him during a stopover in Alaska en route to the Far East.

Hans Jörg Sottorf

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 April 1978)

Bahr's Brezhnev remarks stir neutron differences

Bonn pundits pricked up their ears over SPD Administrator Egon Bahr's remarks on his talks with the Soviet Union's President and party boss Leonid Brezhnev.

Herr Bahr said on German television: "I see no reason for talks on the neutron warhead (during Brezhnev's forthcoming visit to Bonn, ed.), which we as the Federal Republic of Germany do not possess and of which the only thing certain at present is that it will not be produced for an unspecified length of time."

But Herr Bahr, formerly chief negotiator of *Ostpolitik* who still finds open doors in Moscow, added: "However, there will certainly be talks on disarmament and arms control."

Herr Bahr was not only commissioned by Willy Brandt to probe the North-South Dialogue; he was also commissioned by Helmut Schmidt to explore how the meeting between the Chancellor and the Soviet Union's number one man can be "saturated with political substance" (Brezhnev).

His remark on the neutron device is significant as there are also different views being expressed in Bonn.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has repeatedly intimated recently that it will be a topic of discussion.

Asked in a television interview on the Brezhnev visit whether he felt the Soviets would accept the neutron device as a subject of arms control negotiations, Herr Genscher said: "What matters is, I believe that we steadfastly stress the earnestness of our decision, reached with our allies in Nato, to make it very clear to the Soviet Union that it is now up to Moscow to make a constructive contribution towards arms control and limitation."

In plain language, this means: Herr Genscher wants (and there he is not far removed from the CDU) to introduce the neutron weapon into the bilateral talks with Brezhnev as a bargaining counter.

But the Social Democratic element of the government is interested in excluding the subject from the talks as far as possible.

It is learned from the Foreign Office that Defence Minister Hans Apel's ideas do not necessarily agree with those of the Foreign Minister. He has said that the neutron device is only "in a limited way" possible as a subject of discussion.

Views between the coalition partners on attitudes to adopt with Brezhnev do not quite coincide.

The Social Democrats — Schmidt, Brandt and Wehner — are pulling in the same direction. They want to revive détente to prevent it bogging down, considering this the most important element cementing the social-liberal coalition, distinguishing it from the CDU/CSU.

While Herr Genscher still pofesses his faith in détente, he nevertheless creates the impression that uncertainty about the outcome of Länder elections has its effect on the Free Democrats' foreign policy.

His words on the Brezhnev visit are carefully picked not to irk CSU and CDU.

Even so, the differences on *Ostpolitik* from time to time within the coalition are not such as to make the FDP hamper Helmut Schmidt in his efforts to get disarmament talks off the ground.

Behind these differences lies the concern that the major powers could reach an agreement bypassing Europe, at the expense of the medium and smaller nations.

The Social Democrats are the active element in the attempt to stimulate the Vienna MBFR talks, aimed at troop reductions or at least, as Herr Brandt put it, a stabilisation of armament in Europe.

Herr Schmidt has put forward proposals, now fearing (with his party) that the neutron device as a subject of talks between Bonn and Moscow could provide an insurmountable obstacle to progress in the MBFR talks.

Leonid Brezhnev is still viewed as a politician of détente by his Bonn hosts, who feel that he intends to continue on this course despite growing resistance at home.

As a result, the question of how political détente (though not always successful) can be continued in the military sector as well will be the main topic during Brezhnev's Bonn visit.

Concrete results are unlikely since this issue goes beyond mere bilateral relations.

Bonn must reduce its concrete expectations for the event.

It is already certain that the three agreements concerning legal aid, scientific-technical cooperation and cultural exchange will remain on ice, since there is still no way in the offing of including West Berlin.

Bahr would have achieved a great deal if Brezhnev agreed to include Berlin in the détente process.

What remains is long-term economic cooperation. Chancellor Schmidt has had several ministries prepare a paper on cooperation, though there is nothing startling in it.

The Soviets are still very interested in using German technology to develop their country and exploit natural resources. Brezhnev would find progress in that direction worth taking home.

Udo Bergdoll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 April 1978)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. — Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: Peter Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: 65 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 21 90 00. Telex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 12 — Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes quarterly supplements featuring articles selected from German periodicals.

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■ **HOME AFFAIRS**

Commissioner warns on soldiers' role

Frankfurter Allgemeine

ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Karl Wilhelm Berkhahn, Bundestag Commissioner for the Armed Forces, warns in his annual report on 13 April that increasing military specialisation could lead to the soldier's role as a "politically aware and active citizen" receding into the background.

He said the wealth of specialised knowledge, the enthusiasm for technical advances, the need for rationalisation and questions of organisation tended to dominate and the vital question as to the Bundeswehr's ultimate purpose and the connections between its elements to be neglected.

Berkhahn stressed that technical perfection and efficiency "were only a part of military life." An equally important aspect was that soldiers should be aware of the importance of military service.

Technical advances and organisational questions should not "alienate" soldiers from their overall task: the "tasks of the armed forces could not be carried out without the aid of technology but technology alone is not the solution", he said.

Berkhahn, whose function is to ensure that there are no undue infringements of the rights of soldiers, said there had been very few in the past year, and no grave infringements of rights at all.

Explaining his concern that soldiers were becoming mere military specialists, Berkhahn criticised the state of political education in the Bundeswehr, the Bundeswehr's cultivation of traditions, the School of Inner Leadership *(Schule der Inneren Führung)*, The Bundeswehr academies and Armed Forces Reform Model 4, now shelved.

He said there were numerous inadequacies in political education in the Bundeswehr and asked when "at last" it would be "an integral part" of overall military leadership. Those responsible for this training should themselves be trained in teaching methods.

Military tradition, Berkhahn said, should not be seen in isolation but should be "part and parcel of the firm traditions and values of the nation as a whole."

He defended the 1965 decree on traditions and said he had the impression that only parts of it were implemented.

Pedagogical and sociological elements were not adequately dealt with in specialist studies at the Bundeswehr academies. The result was a tendency towards "pure specialisation with no notion of the social context."

This would have to be reversed, otherwise lack of political education among troops would merely be compounded by the gaps in officiers' training. It was vital for pedagogical and sociological elements to be built into courses.

Berkhahn was sceptical about tests of Armed Forces Reform Model 4 in various companies. The purpose was to reduce size and increase the combat effectiveness of units. He said the reform did not make conditions for political education and modern military leadership methods any easier, indeed there was too much stress on rationalisation and technology.

Call for guidelines on political conduct

His general conclusion was that "not enough importance was always attached to the principle of inner leadership."

The report calls on the Minister of Defence to lay down clear guidelines on whether soldiers should express political opinions at meetings of professional associations.

This refers to the fact that different decisions have been reached in the case of soldiers carrying political banners at a DGB (German Federation of Trades Unions) and a Communist Party meeting. The Commissioner is of the opinion that "soldiers should not carry banners with political demands and should not be seen to be supporting such demands."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 April 1978)

Problems in adding Bonn's forecasts on energy needs

The average citztizen is bemused by the Bonn Government's statements on future energy needs.

A year ago it was assumed that an electricity-producing capacity of 115,000 megawatts would be required by 1985.

In December 1977, energy demand for 1985 was estimated at 110,000 megawatts, which meant that on paper only 24,000 instead of the original estimate of 30,000 megawatts would have to be produced by atomic power stations.

Even the revised estimates assume that the gross national product will increase by 4 per cent a year on average in real terms.

Various scientific research institutes have pointed out that this assumption of 4 per cent is highly optimistic. Yet the basic fact remains that energy will be dearer and scarcer in the 80s and 90s, assuming that economic growth does not grind to a complete halt.

The task of prudent and responsible politicians is to prepare citizens and industry in this country for this. The problem is that it is difficult to convince people of the need to save energy and built new atomic and coal power stations while there is no visible sign of shortage.

Public debate on energy is still emotional, even though Bonn Minister of Economic Affairs Graf Lambsdorff recently said in the Bundestag that the tone of debate had become more relaxed. Lambsdorff called for "unanimity of will and action" on the matter.

The CDU/CSU Opposition is not likely to play along until the government camp has sorted out its internal problems here. The fact, for example, that Minister of the Interior Maihofer is waiting to hear the reasons for a number of court rulings does not satisfactorily explain why he still has not presented a draft law on solutions to environmental problems related to coal power stations.

The government is itself putting obstacles in the way of the energy investment which it believes necessary if demand is to be met and economic growth assured.

Lambsdorff introduced a new aspect into the debate when he called on coal mining companies to reduce their costs and cut coal production for the time being. With 33 to 34 million tons of coal waiting to be sold and world prices very low, coal companies are going to have to follow Lambsdorff's advice, in consultation with the works' councils and the miners' union. The taxpayer cannot be expected to continue subsidising coal production until this is done.

More than DM4 billions will go into subsidies for coal mining this year. The Bonn Cabinet intends to introduce further subsidies in a supplementary budget in May.

The Minister of Economic Affairs has said categorically that coal reserves cannot go on piling up. The result would be financial burdens it would be unreasonable to expect the state, consumers and the companies to bear.

Of course it is conceivable that demand for coal will increase in a few years. However, supplies already mined should be enough to meet any sudden increase in demand.

The problem of present abundance and future shortage of energy is intractable. Lambsdorff's strategy seems to be a step in the right direction if the government coalition can overcome the Opposition in its own ranks and put this strategy into practice.

Hans-Henning Zencke

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 April 1978)

Tough line on right radicals

The Bonn government will use "the severest legal means at its disposal' against violent and militant extreme right wing groups, according to government spokesman Klaus Bölling.

After a Cabinet meeting Bölling said the political significance of these groups remained minimal but some had recently begun adopting terrorist methods. The government also disapproved of the "commercialisation of the Hitler era" in books, records and toys. He excluded works seriously trying to study the Nazi era.

Family Minister Antje Huber said that she had asked that 16 records with Nazi propaganda and reprints from the Wehrmacht magazine *Signal* should be put on the index. CDU MP Gerhard Reddemann also condemned the glorification and the readiness to use violence among neo-Nazis.

Reuter

(Die Welt, 20 April 1978)

New anti-terror law passes second vote

The way is now clear for the Bonn government's anti-terror law to go on to the statute book.

The Bundesrat rejected the law, which meant it needed an absolute majority in the Bundestag.

All the coalition MPs present voted against the Bundesrat's objection. The only MP absent was Lenelotte von Bothmer from Hanover, who was ill.

The law can now be signed by the President and will come into force when it is published in the *Bundesgesetzblatt* (The Federal Gazette) at the beginning of May.

The new Act means:

- It will be easier to exclude defence counsel from terrorist trials.
- Screens will be installed in prison visiting rooms to prevent objects being passed over when defence counsel are visiting their clients.
- The setting up of police control points is legalised.
- The police will be allowed to check identity and to hold people for up to 12 hours until identity has been established.
- The police will be allowed to search buildings and complexes in which alleged terrorists are believed to be hiding.

The Opposition had proposed more drastic measures, such as surveillance of conversations between defence counsel and accused and preventive detention for terrorists after their first offence. These measures were rejected by the government.

The parties restated their positions briefly in the Bundestag. For the Opposition, Herr Vogel accused the coalition of neglecting its duty because the security measures envisaged were inadequate. Emmerich (SPD) and Kleinert (FDP) said more security in CDU/CSU terms would mean an infringement of basic individual rights and therefore had to be rejected.

In the first vote on the anti-terror laws, SPD MPs Coppik, Hansen, Lattmann and Meinike voted against the draft law and the government had a majority of only one.

On this occasion they voted with the coalition to reject the Bundesrat objection, saying that the Opposition was trying to introduce even more drastic anti-terror laws. As they considered the government draft law too drastic, they had to prevent any attempt to make the laws even more severe.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1978)

Neo-Nazism is 'exaggerated'

There is little real danger of a significant revival of neo-Nazi tendencies in this country, says a former mayor of Hamburg, Professor Herbert Weichmann (SPD).

In an article in *Bildzeitung*, he said the problem was not so much the existence of neo-Nazi groups as the exaggeration in the media of cases involving them.

In general, the most visible aspect of right-wing extremism was the publicity given to it. In reality, neo-Nazism was losing ground. He said the number of extreme right-wing publications had dropped from 228,000 in 1975 to 178,000 in 1976.

(Die Welt, 17 April 1978)

■ MILITARY SERVICE

Objectors make a separate peace – the hard way

The Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe has sustained a motion by the Opposition CDU against the draft law amendment of 17 July 1977 abolishing hearings for conscientious objectors. The court has ruled the amendment unconstitutional and declared it null and void.

Andreas Meister's and Peter Walkowski's world revolves around furniture – old beds and wardrobes, tables and chairs, couches and easy chairs, stoves and refrigerators. They pick the stuff up in one apartment and transport it to another.

Sometimes they also store the furniture in the underground garage of a *high-rise apartment building.*

The two young men, aged 20 and 21, work at their task in Cologne eight to ten hours a day every day of the week.

Nikolaus Dedenbach's world revolves aroud Italian toddlers, for he works in an Italian kindergarten every day from 8am to 5pm. He plays with the children of Italian workers, takes them for walks, puts them to bed, repairs toys, washes dishes and keeps the rooms tidy.

The three young men have one thing in common: they resorted to Article 4, Section 3 of the *Constitution, according* to which "no-one may be forced to do armed military service against his conscience."

Nikolaus Dedenbach had to face a panel consisting of a president and three assessors, explaining for three-quarters of an hour why he rejected armed service.

Andreas Meister and Peter Walkowski had it easier. They were recognised as conscientious objectors on the basis of a written statement to that effect under the terms of last year's Draft Law amendment, as tabled by the Social-*Liberal* coalition.

The amendment, in force since August 1977, did away with hearings for conscientious objectors – but only for four months.

The CDU, whose chairman Helmut Kohl had termed the new law "postcard pacifism", had its motion against the amendment sustained by the Constitutional Court, whose Second Panel last December issued a temporary injunction, suspending the amendment.

The court has now passed its final ruling, *nullifying* the amendment.

What worried the Christian Democrats (and evidently the Constitutional Court justices) was the rising number of conscientious objectors since last August.

From August until December 1977, 44,000 young men opted against military service. In the whole of 1977, the number of conscientious objectors was only 70,000 – about 18.1 per cent of those called up.

In 1976, the number of conscientious objectors was 40,000 or 9.6 per cent.

Another drawback might have been that the Federal Commissioner for Civilian Service (in lieu of military service), Hans Iven, was unable to place all objectors.

Of the 35,000 positions available to Herr Iven's office, some 10,000 are unoccupied.

"What can I do when an old people's home asks that a position be filled not only by a Catholic but also by a qualified cook, wearing white socks to boot?" Herr Iven says.

But *according to the commissioner,* not all possibilities for civilian service have been used. What he envisages is a comprehensive social service.

"Why should they not fell trees or take some grandma to a cemetary or read a newspaper to an oldster?" he asks.

*His aim is to provide 25,000 additio*nal openings by 1980, a total of 60,000.

It is correct that, as he once put it. "the objectors doing civilian service have become a definite factor in the nation's social life."

Their stint is 18 months (three *months more than for soldiers) and is* served in hospitals and old people's homes, where in many instances they account for 25 per cent of the staff.

They work for emergency squads and welfare societies. Some, like Nikolaus Dedenbach, help out in a kindergarten or, like Andreas Meister and Peter Walkowski, work for the Protestant Church's charitable organisation Action Brother in Cologne.

Says Luise Zaeske, the coordinator of Action Brother: "This work stands or falls by our conscientious objectors."

The organisation has become a major institution in Cologne and has spread to such an extent that it has provided more than 2,500 pieces of furniture valued at DM250,000 in less than three years.

As a result, the organisation was assigned two objectors as helpers.

Action Brother makes use of the throw-away mentality of our affluent society. Old furniture, for which our sated bourgeoisie has no use any more, is picked up and delivered to those who cannot afford to buy. And as Andreas *Meister and Peter Walkowski* know from experience, there are plenty of the latter – primarily the jobless, repatriates from the East, foreign workers, ex-convicts,



Street demonstrator in Munich holds up his *burning military identity document* in protest against the Constitutional Court's ruling on conscientious objection. (Photo: dpa)

old-age pensioners and welfare recipients.

And so the two young men cart heavy wardrobes and couches through narrow corridors, carrying them down many flights of stairs only to carry them up again at the other end.

Meister and Walkowski, high school graduates, have become jacks of all trades, assembling lamps and screwing together bits and pieces.

Frau Zaeske usually says to the objectors (and she is now looking after the fourth generation of them): "If it's hard work you are looking for, then this is the place for you."

Andreas Meister and Peter Walkowski are not the sort of people doing the job *only* to get their stint over. They bring to it a great deal of social commitment and idealism, all for about DM500 a month.

"I applied for work with Action Brother to be able to help people who cannot help themselves," says Walkowski.

This is an attitude typical of many conscientious objectors.

Ernst-Josef Nagel, a teacher at the

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Government plans to reform terms of civilian service

Following the Constitutional Court ruling of 13 April, the Bonn Government intends to reform civilian service for conscientious objectors as soon as possible.

According to the Labour Ministry, in charge of civilian service, Minister Herbert Ehrenberg's (SPD) decision on the future organisation of civilian service is still not definite.

The Bonn Cabinet dealt with this on 19 April.

Labour Minister Ehrenberg is to do the preliminary work before a decision.

The Constitutional Court has ruled unconstitutional the 1977 draft law amendment, abolishing hearings for conscientious objectors.

It is still uncertain whether the government will decide to adapt the law to the ruling through a Cabinet motion or whether the initiative will be left to the coalition SPD-FDP in the Bundestag.

Government circles are said to prefer a Cabinet motion in close coordination between the Labour and Defence Ministers.

Last year's amendment was essentially worked out by the coalition MPs. It is *not considered impossible* that SPD and FDP will agree on a joint concept with CDU-CSU.

Following his party's victory at the Constitutional Court, Opposition Leader Helmut Kohl has offered CDU cooperation in working out a constitutionally unobjectionable solution.

The government shows little inclination to reintroduce the hearings. Instead it would prefer some arrangement in accordance with the ruling whereby a draftee's choice of civilian service would be tantamount to a *decision of conscience.*

To achieve this objective, civilian service would have to be extended from 18 to 24 months. It is also contemplated making it mandatory for objectors to live in barracks during their stint.

The government also intends to pursue its plan to increase the number of civilian service posts to 40,000, ensuring that virtually all objectors have to do their civilian service. *Diethart Goos*

(Die Welt, 20 April 1978)

Court takes clear line on rights

Last December's temporary injunction already signalled that the Constitutional Court felt that the draft law amendment on conscientious objection was *unconstitutional. The courts* 13 April ruling that this law had major bearing on the Bonn-Länder relationship and should not have come into force without Bundesrat (Upper House) approval would have been enough to nullify the amendment.

But more important is the *Court's* comment on constitutional rights.

The 12 principles put forward in the ruling show the care with which the Court drew a line between the rights of the individual and state authority.

The essence is very precise, boiling down to *the fact that national service is* a general duty which can only be circumvented on grounds of conscience credibly presented before a panel.

By terming the old form of hearings for conscientious objectors only one of a number of possibilities, the court also expressed understanding for the intention behind the amendment.

But the justices also made it clear that a citizen should not be able to sidestep national service by the simple expedient of a postcard.

The issue is not only a legal but a moral one. The ruling stresses the state's claim to service on the part of its citizens. But at the same time conscientious objectors who can convincingly present their case must be protected from the suspicion of being malingerers.

The possible solutions seen by the court range from an army of volunteers to major changes in the substitute civilian service.

The court held that if every objector had to expect to be called up and if civilian service was not more comfortable than that in the armed forces, the draftee's choice of civilian service in itself could be taken as a credible reflection of his conscience.

This is probably the most practicable procedure, and the only reason it has not been implemented is the shortage of civilian positions which has led to a build-up of objectors.

Not much will change after the ruling, which is not unliberal but merely sets out conditions for using constitutional rights.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 April 1978)

■ BOOKS

Germany-Japan comparative studies make fascinating reading

In international politics there are often cases where distant countries find themselves in similar situations and therefore seem comparable.

Israel and South Africa, countries each shaped by the spirit of the Old Testament and each isolated in its area, is an example. Germany and Japan is another. But when one examines and compares these countries closely, one is more struck by the differences than the similarities.

Arnulf Baring, professor of contemporary history in Berlin, and Masamori Sase, professor of international relations at the Japanese Academy of Defence in Yokosaka, are joint editors of a book of historical essays comparing the development of Germany and Japan.

The difficulties of this undertaking were considerable, as the editors hint, mainly because of linguistic problems which indicate different ways of thinking.

Still, most of the historians have tried to draw parallels between German and Japanese history and have not merely left them for the reader to draw. Here the German authors seem to have been more successful than the Japanese.

The Japanese authors' unfamiliarity with Europe is evident in many places, despite their efforts. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Japanese readers will pass the same judgment on what the German authors say about their country.

On the whole, the editors' purpose has not been fully achieved Perhaps this was asking too much. But the idea itself was fascinating, and the collection contains enough partial successes to make it worthwhile and stimulating.

The parallels between the countries are indeed striking. Their slow awakening in the second half of the 19th century, the semi-constitutional nature of the states, the deep-rootedness of pre-industrial social conditions which facilitated the process of modernisation, their attempts to catch up with the superior military strength of the major powers, their alliance up to 1945.



Then came the attempt to compensate through achievements in trade and commerce for their political failures, the fact that both countries are densely populated, their dependence on the import of raw materials and on their exports, the fact that both were decisively formed by American occupation after the last war.

Eberhard Jäckel shows in his essay that these similarities are coincidental. He argues that they can be explained by the fact that they both appear on the world political scene rather late, like Italy. This belated entry explains their role as "belated imperialists".

Masamichi Inoki, director of the Yokosaka Academy, says chauvinism in Japan and in Germany was utterly different in nature. He argues that there was no rational planning behind the Japanese forays on to the Asian continent in the 1920s and 1930s. The government in Tokio simply went along with the demands of the military leadership.

The situation in Germany was the complete opposite. Expansionist policies, including the preparations for war, were made by the central government and carried out even though they were not in the country's real interests.

Curt Gasteyer underlines the differences in the post-war development of *the two countries. Germany was a divid*ed country, whereas there was only one occupying power in Japan.

Germany's economy was closely bound up with those of neighbouring states, whereas Japan was in all respects an insular state.

Germany was constantly under the threat of the Soviet Union, in Japan there was no Soviet threat. Here, the occupying forces had more understanding of the country and far more say in how it was run. Japan remained mysterious to the Americans, it was more inaccessible, and so the Americans had less say in government.

The result was a different direction in post-war developments. The Federal Republic of Germany has joined the EEC and become a member of Nato, Japan remains alone, unsure of its position and perhaps over-estimating its insular security.

It is impossible to give detailed accounts of all 21 articles. Paul Kevenhörster and Seizaburo Sato write on the new democracies, Gerhard Wettig and Shimpei Fujimaki on demilitarisation, the constitutional ban on a national army and rearmament.

Bernhard Grossmann and Takuji Shimano write about the rise to the status of economic world powers. In the third part of the book, the authors discuss questions of the future. This contains articles by Wolfgang Wagner, Christoph Bertram, Gebhard Hielscher, Masataka Kosaka, Nobuyoshi Namiki, Makoto Momoi and Yoshiyuko Nishi.

The two articles on defence policy underline the foreign policy differences between the two countries. Christoph Bertram argues that one major difference is that this country knows it is threatened, actively seeks allies and is prepared to contribute a great deal to the alliance.

Japan, one the other hand, does not feel threatened. In its defence pact with Japan, America has the role of the *demandeur* and Japan that of the country which accedes to these demands.

Japan does as little as possible. Its armed forces are not an expression of its need for security but a concession to American defence policy in the Pacific.

The last, recapitulatory, article is by Professor Grewe, until recently German ambassador in Japan. It is a history of German-Japanese relations in diplomacy, science and economic matters.

Pro fessor Grewe complains of a two-fold imbalance in German-Japanese relations. He says the Japanese are far more interested in Germany than the Germans in Japan. This becomes evident when we look at statistics on cultural exchanges.

Grewe adds that the great interest in Germany is mainly to be found among the older generation. He argues for more cultural exchanges between young people in both countries. His essay also stresses the trilateral context of Europa, America and Japan. *Günther Gillessen*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 April 1978)

Arnulf Baring and Masamori Sase (editors), *Zwei zaghafte Reisen – Deutschland und Japan seit 1954*, Belser Verlag, Stuttgart, 1977, 700 pages. DM32.

Continued from page 4

Hamburg Bundeswehr University and author of a study commissioned by a Catholic institution entitled "Attitudes of conscientious objectors and soldiers," found that helpfulness was pronounced among conscientious objectors: "There is a definite altruistic elan in them."

The objectors frequently have to overcome many obstacles in their service.

Language is the biggest for Nikolais Dedenbach. He is frequently helpless when confronted with the toddlers in his Italian kindergarten.

"The child suddenly starts talking to you in Italian; you'd like to answer... but how?"

Despite social commitment and dedicated work for their fellow man, conscientious objectors are still viewed sceptically by the public.

According to the Allensbach Opinion Research Institute, less than one-third of Germans consider objection to military service genuine. And one in two consider conscientious objectors "malingerers." *Heinz Verfürth*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 April 1978)

Germany: from force to the politics of peace

Germany's role in Europe and the world is a subject which fascinates historians and political scientists, German and non-German.

Clearly German historians are more personally involved in the subject of their own history – a history of the use of force, of expansion, of guilt – but also, since 1945, of atonement and reparation, of a striving for peace.

This history requires a sober, subtle critical approach, free of attempts at whitewashing or overall condemnation and of the fashionable folly of the present Hitler and Nazi boom.

A work published by the Droste Verlag in Düsseldorf stands out among a flood of essays and writings by German professors on recent German history. Prof. Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, director of the political science seminar at Bonn University, has published a collection of his articles on the politics of peace entitled *Von der Strategie der Gewalt zur Politik der Friedenssicherung* (From the Strategy of Force to the Politics of Peace). All the essays deal with 20th century German history.

The pleasing and significant feature of this book is that Professor Jacobsen has not fallen into the trap of adopting a monocausal approach or of seeing German history in isolation. He begins his collection of essays with an analysis of discontinuities and continuities in foreign policy between the Weimar Republic and the post-war governments od the Fedetal Republic of Germany. This pro-

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

vides a broad and convincing base on which he builds his analysis of more particular aspects.

The history of Germany in the 20th century has not been determined by foreign policy alone. Indeed, leading historians such as Besson have come to question the accuracy of the term foreign policy in our time. Factors in home policy, social and industrial developments also played a vital role.

Jacobsen has taken this point of view fully into account in his collection. His essays on *Krieg in Weltanschauung und Praxis des Nationalsozialismus* (War in the Theory and Practice of National Socialism), on the relations between the army and the state during the Weimar Republic, and on the part the Bundeswehr plays in modern West German society all take this perspective into account.

The strategy of the use of force is illustrated in the perhaps over-lengthy account of the battle of Stalingrad. Even here there are signs of the argument that is developed more fully in the articles on postwar history. The nature of war is changing and so, too, is the place of war in politics. There is a qualitive transformation in social and political motives, concepts and values which is observable right through into the 1960s.

Since the beginning of the 60s there has been a gradual lessening of East-West bloc confrontation, attempts at greater cooperation and less hostility.

In German foreign policy there were signs of this development only later, when Schröder was Minister of Foreign Affairs. This policy came to full fruition only later under Brandt and Scheel.

Probably the most complex and difficult aspect of post-war German history in this respect is relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland. Jacobsen is the director of the German-Polish commission on school history textbooks and has organised numerous exchanges between German and Polish universities. *He argues that* German-Polish an important touchstone for European cooperation and detente.

Jacobsen's statement that there is no sensible alternative to the policy of cooperation, peaceful solution of conflicts and the renunciation of armed force in Europe is familiar and not new, though there are still those in both blocs who do not seem to have recognised this. The merit of this work is that he has made specific historical developments and catalysts more vivid and easier to understand.

The work is clearly presented and written in an easy style which means it is intelligible not only to the political scientist but to the layman, who will derive both pleasure and instruction. *Frank S. Rödiger*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 9 April 1978)

Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Von der Strategie der Gewalt zur Politik der Friedenssicherung. Beiträge zur deutschen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Droste Verlag, Düsseldorf, 372 pages. DM52.

■ TRADE

Pressure builds on dollar as central banks keep clear

Pressure on the dollar has recently increased because the central banks of many countries have not boosted their reserves with dollars.

From the end World War II to 1977, dollar amounts to the tune of two-digit billion figures were taken up by central banks which wanted to increase reserves by boosting dollar holdings.

From 1950 to the end of 1977, the central banks of all Western countries increased their reserves in the form of special drawing rights (SDR) from 49,700 million to 260,000 SDRs (One SDR equalled 1.20 US dollars at the end of 1977).

The United States, which held about half the world's foreign exchange reserves after World War II, reduced its reserves during the same period from 24,300 million to 16,000 million SDRs. The other central banks combined boosted their reserves by 218,600 million SDRs, with the Bundesbank taking the lion's share. Its reserves, which in 1950 amounted to 200 million SDRs, rose to 32,700 million by the end of 1977.

Dollars were used for the largest part of these increased foreign exchange reserves. Overall gold reserves rose slightly by about 7,000 million SDRs until 1965.

The increase of reserves of the central banks of the IMF was even smaller and did not rise until the redistribution of drawing rights in 1974.

The dollar has always enjoyed a prime position (and still does) as a central bank reserve currency. Of the 218,600 million SDRs held as a reserve by central banks outside the United States as of the end of 1977, 198,200 million were held in the form of foreign exchange — most of it in dollars.

The central banks have acquired 160,000 million SDRs in dollars to bolster their reserves since 1950 and have thus financed a considerable part of US balance of payments deficits.

These amounts have varied considerably from year to year. Having reached the record of 27,300 million SDRs, they dropped to 4,200 million in 1975, rising to a record high of more than 30,000 million in 1977.

This is largely attributable to the restocking of the Bank of England's foreign exchange reserves to the tune of 16,000 million dollars. Another element was purchases by some central banks to bolster the dollar — primarily the Bundesbank, which bought billions worth of dollars to halt its decline.

This was due to the fact that since last autumn the world's money and capital markets have no longer been prepared to absorb freely floating dollars. Even some central banks had begun to reduce their dollar supply rather than increase it.

Notwithstanding the abolishment of the commitment to exchange dollars for gold on international commodity markets on 15 August 1975, the dollar remained the standard currency in international trade, even though its exchange rate fluctuations and its pronounced downward trend gave rise to discomfit. But what was to replace it?

The IMF, pressed by the United States and driven by the ambition to increase its own importance in international settlements as a kind of new world currency through special drawing rights, is pursuing a policy aimed at eliminating gold from our monetary system still further.

But international trade shows little inclination to make use of SDRs with their fluctuating rates as an accounting unit, let alone as legal tender.

Of the strongest currencies at present (the Japanese yen, the Swiss franc and the deutschemark), the yen is the least attractive due to its frequent exchange rate fluctuations.

Switzerland, with its defensive measures against the influx of money from abroad, wants above all to prevent any use of the Swiss franc as a reserve currency, fearing more risks than advantages.

The same can be said for the Federal Republic of Germany with its economic potential which, though considerably larger than that of Switzerland, is nevertheless much smaller than that of the United States.

Some foreign central banks seem to have started to increase their deutschemark holdings inordinately — in other words, in excess of the needs for current transactions.

But even so, the German currency cannot replace the dollar as a reserve currency, let alone as a standard monetary unit in international trade.

Heinz Pentzlin

(Die Welt, 10 April 1978)

Bundesbank's assets less

The Bundesbank's assets in 1977 fell by DM6,600 million, compared with DM3,000 million in 1976.

The reason was the erosion of the central bank's dollar holdings.

Gold reserves rose by DM64 million in 1977 due to gold returned by the IMF.

At the end of 1977, there were DM65,600 million in notes (end of 1976: DM59,000 million) and DM6,100 million in coins (end of 1976: DM5,700 million).

(Welt am Sonntag, 16 April 1978)

Bonn lowers growth aim

The Bonn government has amended its growth target downward.

Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer told his opposite numbers in the Länder Cabinets that Bonn now expects an average annual real growth of only four per cent from 1979 to 1982.

The federal government's medium-range fiscal plan had assumed an annual growth of 4.5 per cent.

This downward amendment means tax revenues in 1981 will be about DM13,000 million lower than originally planned.

Herr Matthöfer explained the "working hypothesis" for government budgets (federal, state and local) for the next years and the projection of medium-range fiscal planning.

Federal, state and local expenditures next year are to rise by only 5.5 to six per cent to DM461,500 million or DM463,000 million, the increase for 1978 being ten per cent.

The federal budget in 1979 is to rise by between five and 5.5 per cent to between DM199,000 million to DM200,000 million; Länder budgets are expected to rise to about DM191,000 million.

Combined public revenues in 1979 are expected to go up by seven per cent, in 1980 by 6.5 per cent and in the two following years by eight per cent each.

The overall deficit, to be covered by credit, will amount to about DM53,000 million in 1979, falling to between DM49,500 million and DM52,500 million in 1980.

According to Herr Matthöfer, it remains the state's task to support economic growth in the coming years while reducing budgetary deficits.

(Münchner Merkur, 14 April 1978)

Bundesbank blame on wage bill for investment drop

The Bundesbank's report for 1977, just presented, attributes the low growth rate of the past few years primarily to inadequate investment due to income distribution at the expense of business and the added cost of environmental protection.

The central bank points to a study by the Ifo Institute which says trade and industry spent DM8,500 million on environment protection measures from 1971 to 1977, five per cent of total plant investments.

The added cost due to environment protection has probably risen even more than that.

The bank holds that the new costs have a bearing on investment decisions, thus hampering growth potential.

The change in income distribution has also dampened the inclination to invest

Labour incomes have risen disproportionately to the overall development of earnings in the past few years. This, the report says, was at the expense of business profits.

Disregarding private householders' income on capital as well as income from state enterprises and the state's capital yield, gross incomes of private individuals from business ventures in 1977 were about 53 per cent higher than in the early 70s, while workers' earnings rose by 85 per cent.

Years of inadequate profits have prevented many businesses from accumulating liquid capital to cover increased risks.

These brakes on the economy, the report says, were further aggravated by numerous obstacles due to the restructuring of foreign trade conditions in the past few years.

Changes in foreign exchange parities have, to say the least, eliminated the edge of German industry on foreign markets, reduced export profits and increased the number of businesses having to maintain their positions on overseas markets by accepting temporary losses.

The Bundesbank concludes that the growth potential of the German economy in the coming years is smaller than in the sixties and early seventies.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1978)

Mark to rise still further?

The appreciation of the deutschemark against the dollar is likely to continue in 1978 and exceed the 1977 rate of 8.4 per cent, says the Institute for the German Economy (IW) in a recent analysis.

From 1970 to 1977, the deutschemark appreciated against the dollar by 57 per cent.

Taking into account the difference in inflation rates of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States, the appreciation is 47.2 per cent based on consumer prices. In the export price sector, this reached only 11.8 per cent.

Since hourly wages in the United States are rising more slowly than in Germany, there is the curious situation that the appreciation in that sector, 72 per cent, is even higher than the appreciation of the deutschemark on foreign exchange markets.

While the change of parities has not had a spectacular effect on our foreign trade, the trend in tourism and direct investment changed conspicuously.

In 1970, American tourists spent DM1,100 million in Germany. This was halved in 1973 and 1974, before rising again to more than DM800 million. German tourist spending in the United States, which in 1970 was DM640 million, exceeded the one billion mark in 1976 and 1977.

America had a surplus only until 1972, when this shifted in Germany's favour. The flow of capital has also been reversed. Until 1974, the annual influx of US capital ranged between DM500 million and DM1,600 million more than that going out. Since 1975, German investors have channelled more money to the United States than the other way around.

From 1970 to mid-1977, German investments in the USA rose from DM1,800 million to DM6,100 million, while US investments in this country increased from DM9,900 to DM18,400 million.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 April 1978)

'Spending abroad helps exports'

German business has invested DM16,000 million abroad in the past three years.

According to the Institute for the German Economy, Cologne, this large increase in direct investments has promoted rather than hampered exports because its prime objective was to secure markets in the long-term.

The fact that since 1975 German business has been investing more abroad than has been coming in is mainly attributable to the heavy appreciation of the deutschemark and rising wage costs in this country.

Direct investments abroad amounted to only two per cent of domestic investments.

(Die Welt, 12 April 1978)

Dramatic fall in savings

The increase of savings deposits in savings banks in the first two months of this year was dramatically lower (25 per cent) than in January and February 1977.

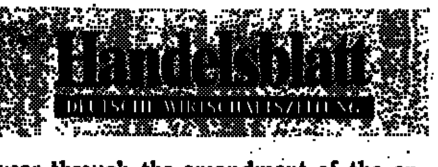
During the same period last year, savings deposits rose by DM900 million.

(Welt am Sonntag, 16 April 1978)

■ INDUSTRY

Companies blame 'Stuttgart' wage deals for reduced prospects

This year's wage agreements following the Stuttgart pattern have been severely criticised by a wide range of German industrial companies in polls conducted by *Handelsblatt*.



The Stuttgart deal involved 5 per cent wage increases and safeguards for workers' incomes.

Companies, among them Esso, said there was a danger, as in 1977, in basing wage deals on excessively optimistic ideas of the growth that could be achieved this year. Such deals were bad for expansion.

The income safeguards were considered even more harmful because of their negative effect on investment.

The automation and streamlining investments planned for many areas would bring a bonanza for computer manufacturers. All companies interviewed agreed that this industry would have no problems this year.

Nixdorf expects sustained and lively demand at home and abroad. This is borne out by the influx of orders in the first quarter of this year, which rose by 14.7 per cent over the same period last year.

IBM's production capacity is well utilised and orders are pouring in.

All companies in this branch of business announced that they intended to hire more staff.

Office machine manufacturers are also optimistic, though they expect growth rates only in the domestic business, foreign markets being sluggish, and there is no chance of additional employment.

The consumer goods industry is profiting from free-spending private consumers, reflecting the tax relief.

Miele hopes to reach at least last year's turnover. It expects domestic business to pick up, as opposed to exports.

Grundig pins its hopes on the soccer world championship, hoping for a good turnover in the colour TV and video business, likely to provide an increase in domestic sales by eight to ten per cent above the average for the industry.

Depreciation of foreign currencies and in some instances prohibitive VAT hamper exports. Business is distressed by growing import pressure, especially from Far East suppliers, and this has induced German competitors to resort to unfair practices when selling Far Eastern products under their own labels.

In the camera sector, Agfa-Gevaert is relying on this year's travel business and the Photokina Show.

Germany's paper and cardboard industry is also optimistic. We expect, says Feldmühle AG, that the present good demand will be sustained until the end of the year.

The construction industry is cautiously optimistic — primarily due to domestic business. Foreign business is becoming increasingly difficult. The number of tenderers has increased and Asian construction companies are giving stiff competition due to cheap labour.

Construction has shown a slight upward trend at home recently, though it is uncertain whether this will be sustained.

The generally more optimistic mood is supported by suppliers to the construction industry. Thus, for instance, Eternit AG is confident, hoping to receive new impulses for the rest of the year through the amendment of the energy-saving law.

Villeroy & Boch expects an increased turnover in sanitation ceramics and tiles if the positive development in the building of one and two-family homes continues.

Pegulan AG expects general economic development for the rest of the year to be satisfactory. The same applies to the plate-glass industry, whose optimism stems from the building boom and lively demand from the automobile industry.

The automobile industry has for some years been in the vanguard of the upswing. VW, Daimler-Benz, BMW, Opel and Ford all forecast a continuation of the auto boom, though perhaps not with the record sales of 1977.

The hampering of exports by the dollar weakness has been registered with displeasure, but due to full order books there is no reason for immediate concern.

Germany's automobile manufacturers also view the pressure from foreign competitors with equanimity. Their optimistic sales expectations show in large investments by all manufacturers.

Things are somewhat different in the commercial vehicle sector. There Daimler-Benz holds that the deterioration of the export markets in the past few months can only partially be offset by livelier home demand.

The good automobile business has its effects on mineral oil processing for carburettor fuel, where demand is expected to increase, while demand for light and heavy heating oil will diminish, says German Shell.

The oil industry will thus have to come to terms with stagnation or a one to two per cent mini-growth for 1978. Investments are concentrated on replacements, modernisation and exploration. In personnel there is a trend towards paring down the payroll.

The dampened prospects of the oil industry reflect the worries of one of its main buyers: the chemical industry.

Based on the first quarter of this year, it can be assumed that 1978 will be difficult, says BASF, seeing no improvement in the next few months.

Chemische Werke Hüls, where business is worse than a year ago and where 1978 is expected to be worse than 1977, views the situation the same way.

Prospects in pharmaceuticals are only slightly better. Boehringer reports that business has been diminishing continuously since 1976 and forecasts a moderate growth of three to four per cent.

Beiersdorf and Henkel expect stagnation or very slight improvement.

Halting development marks the electrical engineering industry. According to Siemens, AEG and SEL, any improvement this year will depend on foreign demand.

Due to the dollar depreciation, rising costs and the continued poor business on major foreign markets assessments for 1978 are cautious.

As a result of imports, prices on the domestic market are expected to come under pressure. There is a rising import not only of consumer but also of capital goods.

The specialised sector of telephone manufacturers differs in its forecasts. While detewe is very cautious in its expectations, Telefonbau and Normalzeit expect satisfactory growth rates.

In mechanical engineering there has been no major change over 1977. Many companies expect growth rates similar to last year. There is rising pressure from Japan, the United States and France in such standard products as construction and mining machinery.

Plant construction, one of the showpieces of Germany's export industry, is divided in its opinions.

Some companies, among them Uhde, register no improvement worth mentioning in projects on international markets and expect no noticeable improvement for 1978; others like Linde and Babcock expect satisfactory business with increased orders.

They all agree, however, that the competitiveness of German plant manufacturers has diminished.

Stagnation with only slightly positive trends at home is the keyword in optical and precision mechanics, as well as in glass, textiles and clothing.

The aluminium industry is faced with the dilemma that this metal is internationally traded on a dollar basis, which means the industry bears the brunt of the dollar weakness.

Lutz Beukert

(Handelsblatt, 19 April 1978)

Lambsdorff warns on economic 'illusions'

Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff has warned against illusions concerning the world economy in an address to the American Chamber of Commerce in Germany.

While adhering to the OECD strategy to secure sustained economic growth, he rejected new government measures to boost investment and other inflationary moves.

Instead, Graf Lambsdorff favoured the convoy theory rather than the locomotive thesis.

Disputes between friends, he said, should be settled jointly. He called on the members of American companies represented in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin not to permit themselves to be made insecure. There was no reason to dramatise problems.

According to him, it was not enough to stimulate demand through massive state investment programmes.

"If we are to achieve our objective of sustained growth, we not only need stimulation of demand but also monetary discipline and stemming the cost development."

The unwarranted idea that some countries could build up steam and accelerate the train of the world economy would clearly overtax the "locomotive countries" Graf Lambsdorff said.

But even the so-called convoy theory was based on the fallacious assumption that adequate growth in the world economy can be realised by demand stimulation.

Instead, Herr Lambsdorff said, Western governments should matter-of-factly recognise the limits within which growth without inflation could be achieved.



Economic Affairs Minister Graf Lambsdorff: no new government measures (Photo: Sven Simon)

He recommended the maintenance of free and open markets as a major contribution by national economies to adaptation to structural changes and the only defence against a revival of protectionism.

The Minister quoted Gatt Secretary-General Olivier Long: "Social peace at the cost of economic inefficiency and diminished growth must be brittle and cannot last."

Those who hampered imports would soon find their export chances at risk.

Import restrictions, Herr Lambsdorff said, had of necessity to thwart growth and jeopardise jobs, especially in industrial countries.

Economic and monetary policy should not be viewed from short-range perspectives, both in national policy and the world economy.

He reminded his audience that "economic forces are stronger than bad ideas" (Milton Friedman). Good ideas had to impart new impulses to the economy.

The depreciation of the dollar, he said, was harming the competitiveness of the German economy.

The speedy passing of an energy-saving programme in the United States could relieve the dollar of some pressure. Moreover, it was necessary to establish a balance between growth and stability to bring the dollar exchange rate back to normal.

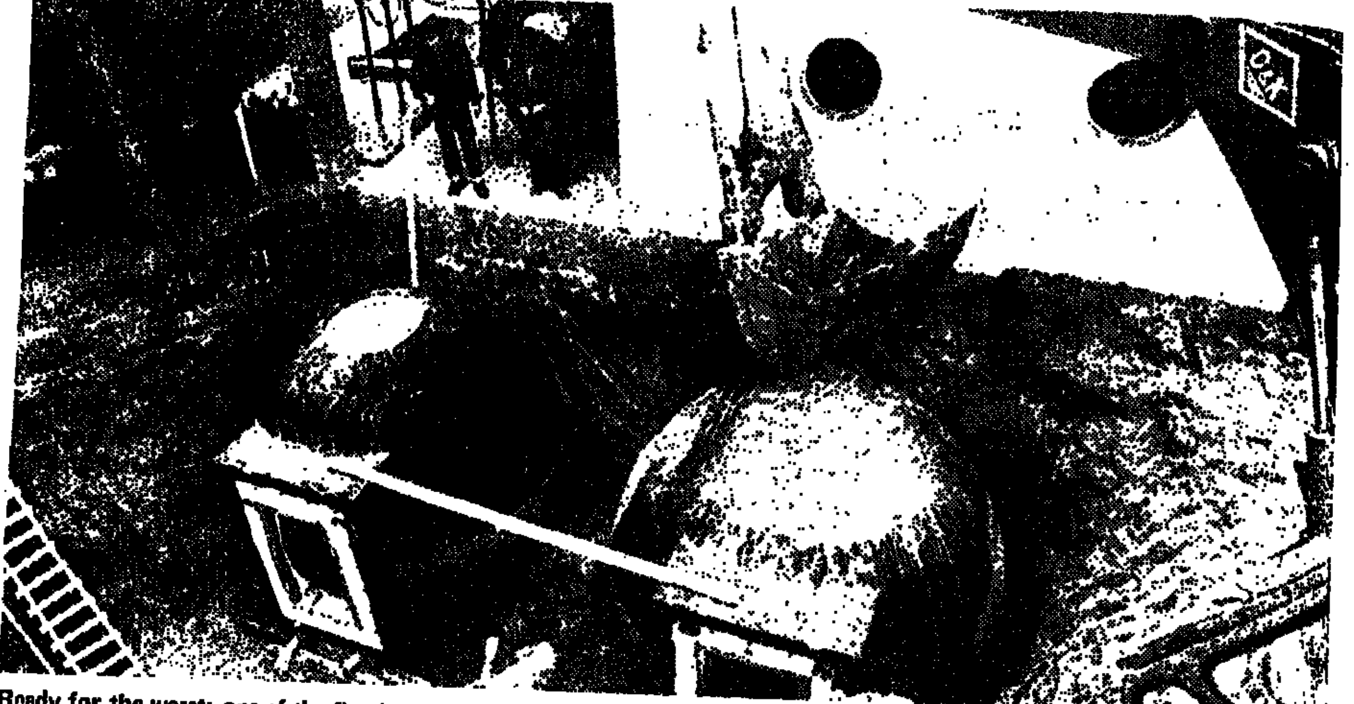
Graf Lambsdorff welcomed the fact that the flow of capital between the United States and Germany — for many years a one-way street — was now being reversed and flowing more heavily into the United States.

The American Chamber of Commerce in Germany, established in Berlin in 1903, has survived two world wars.

With its dual seat in Frankfurt and Berlin, it emphasises its ties with the former capital of Germany. Its 1,400 members make it a bridge for German-American relations in business.

Peter Weertz

(Die Welt, 15 April 1978)



Ready for the worst: one of the first bomb shelters claimed to be neutron bomb-proof goes into the ground in the garden of a private house in Erwitte, Westphalia. (Photo: Elmar Duddek)

■ SAFETY

And now, just in case, the first neutron bomb shelter

WELT am SONNTAG

Private citizens with enough money have long been able to guard against nuclear fall-out by having atomic bunkers built in their gardens. Now a bunker claims to give protection against neutron bomb radiation for DM44,840.

The new bunkers consist of two giant steel spheres with a round lid made of plastic. Most customers have them installed in their gardens. The top of the sphere has to be at least 1,20 metres underground.

The bunker walls are made of reinforced concrete and it is 3.20 metres in diameter, big enough for nine people to try to survive a nuclear holocaust.

Three can sleep on canvas beds on the floor and three sit on small wooden seats. Three have to turn the crank of the emergency electricity unit, regulate the inflow of fresh air and check the intensity of radiation above ground by reading a geigercounter attached to a probe above ground. There is a chemical toilet and provisions in the bunker for 14 days.

There are just under 1.8 million places in state-built atomic shelters for the 60 million citizens of this country. About 65,000 Germans already have private bunkers.

Anyone who builds a bunker for seven people gets a government grant of DM4900. Anyone building a bunker for 25 people gets DM12,625.

Günter Draude, 39, owner of a light-bulb factory in Wuppertal, is the designer of the new anti-neutron bomb bunker which will be on show at the Hanover Fair shortly.

In 1974 Draude designed a spherical reinforced concrete bunker. He spent two years looking for customers and a firm to market his product without luck. Forty out of 44 German bunker building and installation firms went bankrupt in this period as the industry went through a bad slump.

Now, suddenly people seemed to believe in the danger of nuclear war again. The reason is the fierce controversy over the neutron bomb in the last six months. In this time Draude has sold seven (and already installed five) of his spherical bunkers. He has one of them in his own front garden for himself, his wife and two children.

Draude has brought his old models up to date with special sales-boosting anti-neutron bomb devices:

- A "neutron-bell" 3.5 metres wide made of plastic five millimetres thick and placed on a layer of paraffin on top of the bunker.
- A hydrogen barrer consisting of tubes connecting the bunker to the surface. Water comes out of the fine tube nozzles.
- A "deuterium blockade" consisting of a double-glazed pane 13 millimetres thick. Between the panes is normal water enriched with 1.5 per cent heavy water (price per litre: DM1000). This contains the neutron-inhibiting element deuterium.

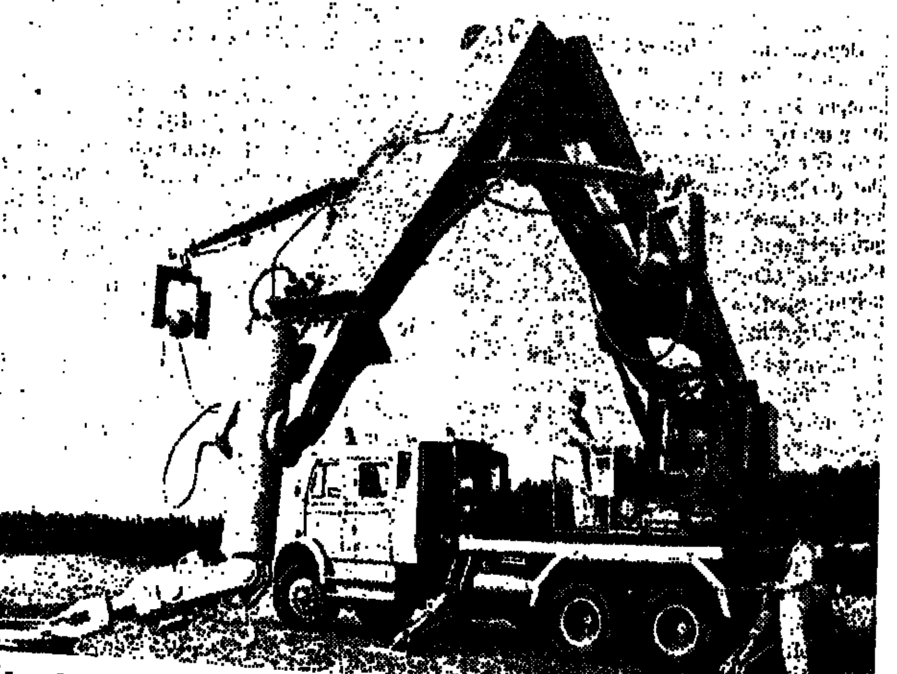
So far 550 Germans have expressed interest in the anti-neutron bomb bunker. According to Draude they are mostly university graduates but they include a Bundestag MP and a lieutenant general.

Buyers will obviously need lot of faith in the builder's competence. Draude says that he has gained his knowledge of bunkers and atomic shelters from extensive contacts with engineers at German atomic power stations and the Max Planck Institute.

There the matter must rest: "I'm afraid my products can only really be tested when the bomb goes off," he says.'

Josef Nyary

(Welt am Sonntag, 16 April 1978)



Nuclear flying squad

Designed for swift action in the event of a nuclear accident, the remote-controlled winch of this specially-built vehicle can handle radioactive items up to 300 kg (660lb). The cab is clad in four-centimetre sheet steel. The vehicle, on standby at Karlsruhe, is manned by a crew of seven. Nuclear safety regulations in the Federal Republic of Germany require all reactor operators to maintain special safety services. This vehicle is jointly operated by power utilities, nuclear fuel manufacturers and research centres. (Photo: Fidelitas)

■ RESEARCH

Transport scientists call for 'fear-free' safety belts

Driving in West Germany strains motorists to the limits of their ability, the congress of the German Society for Transport Medicine in Frankfurt was told this week.

The congress was held in conjunction with the *Deutsche Verkehrswacht* (German traffic safety society).

Ways of compensating for performance shortcomings was the main subject.

The first expert opinion in transport medicine dates back to 1832 when a Nuremberg committee of doctor decided speeds over 40 km/h could be lethal to man.

The congress chairman, Professor Karl Luff, Frankfurt, who has gone into traffic accident research over the past 30 years, said, in an interview with *Frankfurter Rundschau* about safety belts that it was very regrettable that, in spite of information campaigns, the response from the public was lukewarm at best. That safety belts protect the motorist from fatal and minor injury was shown by statistics.

A "workgroup for accident mechanics" at Zurich University gave details of comprehensive accident analyses and extensive tests which proved that adverse effects from safety belts amount to no more than one per cent.

But despite positive information about its protective effects, the safety belt gives a feeling of anxiety to many motorists.

Seventy-five per cent of interviewees expressed the fear that helpers in an emergency might be unable to unclasp the belt.

Sixty per cent felt that there was a great danger of being burnt alive while held firmly by the belt.

The Swiss researchers felt that more information would not change these unwarranted fears. For psychological reasons, it would be best to introduce belt systems that solved the problem, reducing fears generally dubbed the "being trussed syndrome".

The best solution, they said, would lie in a special locking device that, in a series of collisions, would unlock automatically after the last impact.

Tests at the Frankfurt Battelle Institute, Frankfurt, showed that the "geometry" of the belt was of paramount importance. Badly designed belts could cause injury.

The objective was to find ways to improve safety.

High-speed cameras making more than 1,000 exposures per second showed that the positioning of the belt anchoring points, the construction of the seat and the stiffness of the belt were decisive for safety.

The difference between hard and soft seats was telling. In the latter, the buttocks and the lower abdomen sometimes slip below the pelvis belt, thus making it cut into the stomach region ("submarining effect"). The shoulder belt slips to the neck, bringing the danger of strangulation.

Hard seats, on the other hand, behave better on impact: the initial position remains virtually unchanged, the upper body is not corkscrewed out of the belt, there is no submarining effect and the backlash of the head is sufficiently weak. Too comfortable seating can thus be lethal.

Technicians at the Battelle Institute recommended that an "integrated seat-belt system" and, above all, belt tensioners should be introduced.

The integrated seat-belt system would have all anchoring points for the belt on the seat. Shifting of the seat to accommodate people of different sizes would not change the position of the belt.

The disadvantages of wrong belt anchoring could thus be eliminated. The forces acting on the belt would be supported by the seat and the belt anchoring.

The belt tensioner prevents looseness caused by clothing and the film-spool effect. As a result, the belt is always tight around the body, keeping the passenger in position.

According to the Battelle technicians, the tensioner was the most effective modern belt. Industry should press development so that it could be mass-produced as soon as possible.

Other topics concerned the safety of two-wheel vehicles, whose accident incidence has been growing.

As opposed to cars, where the number of injuries has remained unchanged despite more accidents, and the number of deaths has fallen (primarily thanks to safety belts), the number of motorcyclists killed and injured has risen markedly.

In 1976, a record number of 2,091 motorcyclists (in all cc categories) were killed. Another 28,836 motorcyclists suffered severe injuries.

A study by the Forensic Medicine Institute of Münster University provided interesting figures.

In Denmark, 80 per cent of motorcyclists driving machines of less than 100 cc who were killed in road accidents had suffered severe head injuries. About two-thirds died of them: 51 per cent would probably have survived had they worn crash helmets.

An analysis of 4,126 motorcycle accidents in Westphalia also showed that head injuries dominated. The size of the bike made little difference.

The few accidents involving motorcyclists driving less than 50 cc machines and wearing helmets showed that head injuries were markedly fewer and less severe than among those without helmets.

Worldwide studies show that even at an impact speed of between 20 and 30 km/h, severe head and brain injuries occur on the unprotected head.

The transport medicine specialists urgently called on lawmakers to make crash helmets compulsory, even for the lower cc motorcycles, and to provide better traffic training for the (mostly young) drivers.

Friedhelm Lang

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 April 1978)

■ LANGUAGE

German disappearing under technical Tower of Babel linguist meeting warns

In recent years German, like most languages, has become riddled with scientific and technical terminology speakers warned at the 14th annual conference of the Mannheim Institute of the German Language.

The conference's subject was "Specialist terminology and everyday language."

Gerhard Stickel, director of the institute, put the danger clearly: "Things cannot go on like this. The ordinary citizen is manipulated by all kinds of jargon. As a consumer he is manipulated by the language of advertising, as a patient by medical, as a plaintiff by legal and as a citizen by bureaucratic terminology."

Words of admirable clarity. Not all the 250 linguists from 18 countries who attended the Mannheim conference expressed themselves this clearly.

Technical and scientific subjects tend to use their own specialist terminology and many terms are assimilated into ordinary language. The demarcation line between these terms has not been drawn. Indeed it would be quite legitimate to talk of the dominance of science and scientific terminology in the language of the 20th century.

There is nothing new in itself about this problem. There was specialist terminology in the classical disciplines of philosophy, astronomy, theology and geometry in the ancient world.

Then there was the specialist language of the guilds and handicrafts during the Middle Ages. There has always been a reluctance in specialist circles to allow outsiders to peep at their linguistic cards.

In recent years specialisation has become narrower, the number of branches of science has expanded and the Babel of jargon and terminologies has become deafening.

President Heinemann condemned the decelopment in 1973: "It sometimes seems as if a strange form of unreason is using language as a means of leading us back to the guild system of the Middle Ages.

"There are many guilds among us today, all using their own special languages and maintaining these languages with an assiduity worthy of a better cause."

The coining of new terms has grown at alarming speed in recent years, parallel with the rapid progress of modern science. This can be registered in the 4,000 disciplines taught in German universities.

New subject areas are continually

Hannoversche Allgemeine

creating new vocabularies. There are 3.5 million terms in the field of organic chemistry today, 250,000 in medicine, 60,000 in electronics.

This is not all. Even more accessible spheres such as economy, finance, trade, sport, politics and culture devotedly tend their specialist terminologies.

Everyday language can assimilate and integrate a number of these coinages. Yet never before has the gap between the entry of a word into the common language and its reduction to a mere slogan been smaller than it is today.

One example is the term "quality of life" (*Lebensqualität*) which Erhard Eppler, Baden-Württemberg SPD chairman, took over from Englisch sociology and used as ammunition in a national election campaign. There are few speakers who can use this term without a certain irony these days.

The process by which each scientific discipline coins its own language cannot, as many linguists argue, be attributed only to an elitist competitiveness among the disciplines. Often the words answer a need for brevity and speed of communication, a kind of secret code among people working in the same field.

One can even argue that in many cases everyday language is simply incapable of describing scientific processes. An example from the optics of colour may illustrate this: there are about 500 shades between red and pink which cannot be described in ordinary language. Recourse to ciphers and numbers is not only sensible but unavoidable.

The use of specialist terminology is more problematic when specialists have to explain these terms to the layman. Science journalists and the writers of textbooks have made considerable efforts in recent years to act as mediators between specialist terminology and the layman, but we still come up against forbidding, apparently insuperable linguistic barriers.

Here are a few familier examples: "The new aspect here is that not only cost but also liquidity considerations play a part when the employer is contemplating the substitution of labour by capital" (from the business news section of a weekly.)

"If a person has practical control of an object on behalf of another in this person's household or place of business, or in a similar function, as a result of which he receives instructions from this other person, then only this other person is to be regarded as the owner." (from the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*).

"These films are finally directed against the imperialism of language with its linear, unnatural movement and the picture themselves plead the cause of simultaneity" (a film review in a daily paper.)

"BMW drivers. You know the diference between a rear axle and a oblique steering rear axle" (an advertisement in a car magazine.)

"When considering what kind of coloured television to buy, I kept on coming across 'self-converging colour picture tubes.' This is a typical example of completely incomprehensible vocabulary which only confuses the customer. Could you tell me what self-converging picture tubes means and would you recommend them?" (A reader's letter to a TV magazine.)

The last example comes from the area where specialist terminology does the greatest harm — advertising. Advertisements use all kinds of specialist terms quite shamelessly, mainly from science and technology, as part of their psychological warfare. The customer gets the impression he is being given factual information when in fact he is being deceived.

Advertising experts know how they can play on positive and negative emotional responses using terms such as "medical", "natural" and "bacteria" and by stringing meaningless scientific terms with high-sounding Greek and Latin roots one after the other.

Professor Helmut Gipper of Münster says that "what is sensible in the scientific disciplines is abused and becomes total nonsense in the hands of admen."

Things cannot go on like this, was the conclusion reached by the linguists at Mannheim. The sciences should not use language as a barrier to keep out the enquiring layman and the admen should stop manipulating customers with their intimidating and patronising use of scientific terms.

This can be no more than a appeal. Language cannot be regulated. Practically all those at the conference warned about the dangers of this gigantic linguistic tower of Babel. There were a number of comparisons with the linguistic tyranny of Orwell's *1984*. One linguist said: "The year 1984 is not far away for the German language."

He was exaggerating of course. But only slightly.

Ute Gole

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 April 1978)

Museum honours Lessing age

The former Duke August Library in Wolfenbüttel, renovated for DM1.4 million by Lower Saxony, will open to the public on April 15 under the new name of the Museum of Lessing and His Age.

The museum is in the house where poet and playwright Gotthold Ephraim Lessing spent the last 11 years of his life. The opening marks the beginning of celebrations marking the 250th anniversary of his birth.

dpa

(Die Welt, 6 April 1978)

Book trade is unhappy over non-readers

The theme of the Constance literature forum organised by the German, Austrian and Swiss Book Trade Associations last week was the teaching of literature in schools.

Productive reading, as Walter Jens wrote recently, is a tough business, obviously too hard for the majority of people who rarely, if ever, read books.

Jörg Seelbach of the German Book Trade Association said statistics showed that 80 per cent of all children leaving secondary modern and technical schools (*Hauptschulen* and *Realschulen*) were non-readers, that is, they no longer read books. And this despite having learned to read and studied literature at school. How is this lapse into a new form of illiteracy to be explained?

Most of the researchers and teachers at the conference were highly critical of the way reading is taught in schools. Prof. K. Doderer of the Frankfurt Institute for Research into Books for Young People went so far as to say that the way literature was taught in schools put many young people off books.

Doderer pointed to the schizophrenia among many pupils who had one book on their desk and were reading another under it. Literature teaching was too concerned with conveying knowledge which could be tested and did not allow enough time for pupils to increase their literary sensitivity and read books of their own choosing.

Professor Malte Dahrendorf complained that children's and young people's books formed a kind of ghetto to themselves and were largely ignored by literature teachers in schools.

What can be changed in the way literature is taught in schools?

Professor Th. Lewandowski of Cologne Teachers' Training College presented a scheme for an alternative form of teaching reading which aroused a great deal of controversy.

The reader, according to Lewandowski, can only get out of the text what he considers to be the sense. What counts then is not the content of the text but research on the process of reading and understanding itself.

Attempts to help children appreciate literature and judge it for themselves are not legitimate "when factual, contentual, ideological and political aspects are stressed."

"Teaching to read should mainly be about teaching the reader, that is, improving the reading process and helping him to find out the sense."

These extreme theses were bound to be provocative. The notion that literature has an autonomous meaning is rejected and the teaching of literature degraded to the mere teaching of readers — a theory in which the quality of the text is no longer of any importance. (It was significant that Lewandowski gave no indications as to what books would replace the present canons of literature prescribed in the schools.)

The second part of the conference was concerned with less controversial practical suggestions.

It was urged that school libraries should be better equipped, children should be encouraged to read out of school, that literature should be integrated in other subjects and that children should be encouraged to do their own creative writing.

Speakers stressed that literary education was not the sole task of the schools. Swiss educationist Professor H. Thomke pointed out that literary education did not begin at school and school could not make up for what had been omitted at home.

This does not end the need for educationists, teachers and school authorities to analyse the way literature is taught and be self-critical. If the German Reading Society is to achieve anything with its book tips for school-leavers, then something has to be done soon and not only in literature lessons at school.

It seems incredible that children who have been at school for nine or ten years still need to be told that the word *Bibliothek* (library) has nothing to do with discotheque.

As one expert put it: "You can say the same for books as for fresh air. They are there for everyone, but not everyone makes the same use of them. Some people only breathe because they have to."

(Handelsblatt, 17 April 1978)

■ THE ARTS

The ageless fascination of Albrecht Dürer

Albrecht Dürer died 450 years ago this month. Although he has been called "the most German of painters," his father came from the Hungarian village of Aytos and later moved to Nuremberg.

In his lifetime Dürer was idolised and on many of his paintings he portrayed himself as a saint next to the Madonna.

In the years since his death, Dürer's reputation has gone through many phases. At times he has been extravagantly praised, at times condemned with equal force. He has never been ignored, indeed he has always fascinated everyone interested in art. Goethe accused him of having a "formless, unbridled imagination."

When Dürer died suddenly at the age of 57, famous humanists such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Luther and Philipp Melanchthon mourned him as "the renewer of antiquity in Germany," a painter who had become famous throughout



Dürer's *Christus als Schmerzensmann* (Photos: Katalog)

Europe for his prints and the writer of perceptive theoretical articles.

Shortly after his death the Church honoured him. At the Council of Trent in 1563 he and the Italian painter Cimabue were named as the two finest Christian painters of the past and held up as models for for imitation.

By 1600 the demand for his works was so great that it could not be met from the large private collection in Nuremberg alone. Dürer copies, imitations and fakes abounded.

The anniversaries of his birth and death were celebrated as early as the 17th century. His dissertations on measurement, proportion and the building of fortifications were translated into several European languages. In the following century, too, art histories and encyclopedias devoted large amounts of space to his works, which continued to be held in high esteem and to be in great demand.

On his 200th anniversary in 1728 the first Dürer biography appeared in Goslar, written by Pastor Henrich Conrad Arend. It was entitled "A Memoir in honour of one of the most perfect artists of his and all following ages, Albrecht Dürer."

The biography written ten years later by the Nuremberg turner and copper engraver Georg Wolfgang Knorr had a more decisive influence on the Romantic view of Dürer. Knorr's "Speeches from the realm of the dead between the world famous artists Albrecht Dürer and Raphael d'Urbino" provided the material and the perspective for the *Herzensgiessungen* (Effusions of the Heart) written by a 24-year-old Erlangen student, Wolhelm Wackenroder — a work that took Germany by storm.

Wackenroder gives us this picture: "In our mind's eye we see Master Albrecht Dürer sitting on his stool, working with a child-like, almost touching eagerness at a piece of wood, reflecting on his mind's design and how to execute it, looking at his work again and again. I see his large room with its panelled walls."

The emphasis is not on Dürer's work but mainly on an imagined state of mind. Wackenroder's book is a celebration of the Dürer who painted the *Marienleben* and *Hieronymus im Gehäus*. The intelligent theoretician is completely forgotten, the man who hated the "busy carving away" which the Romantics believed he so enjoyed. Wackenroder's image of Dürer is full of sentiment, pain and melancholy.

The wave of enthusiasm for Dürer reached its highest point in 1828. Artists from all over Germany travelled to Nuremberg to take part in the celebrations in the Johannis cemetery and the town hall. Dürer was hailed as "The Reformer" and "Father of German Art." Ludwig I commissioned Christian Rauch to make the first bronze statue ever of an artist.

This unbridled admiration was followed by a period in which opinions about Dürer were more divided. Goethe, who as a young man had praised Dürer for capturing the colourfulness of the world as in a mirror, complained of the "stiffness, sobriety, fearfulness and execessive uprightness" of his work.

These qualities Goethe believed to be characteristic of *Altdeutsch* art. He clearly failed to realise how much he and his illustrious fellow artist had in common. Dürer, too, was looking for a synthesis of idea and appearance, nature and art.

In the mid-19th century Dürer's writings were published in book form in an attempt to make the historical personality more familiar. At the same time the once-idolised artist became the target of masquerades and all kinds of tomfoolery.

Invitation cards portrayed him as a fearsome God the Father looking through the steam from a punch-bowl. His works were reproduced at giveaway prices and often distorted in the process.

During the Biedermeier era there was an enormous amount of Dürer kitsch, including pipes and watchpieces with his portrait on. A masterbaker even hit on the idea of portraying Dürer on one of his cakes and calling the result the "Transfiguration of Albrecht Dürer."

During the last third of the 9th century, Dürer was seen as the *Praeceptor Germaniae*. The "Germanic" and "Heathen" aspects of his work were acclaimed. Many anecdotes went the rounds about his meetings with Emperor Maximilian and a painting by Wilhelm Koller shows the emperor holding the artist's ladder.

Approaches to Dürer this century have been more varied. He inspired the young Kirchner's powerful woodcuts; Klee did variations on Dürer's charcoal drawing of his mother; Giacometti imitated a series of Dürer drawings in his sketchbook. Many catalogues and monographs contain through analyses of his work.



The artist as saint: Dürer self-portrait

The Nuremberg exhibition in 1971, the 500th anniversary of his birth, attempted to sharpen our perception of Dürer's historical context. Recently Dürer was the focal point of the exhibition of German art at the Brussels Europalia. On the art market, the DM500,000 his water colour of an insect fetched was a record for a drawing by an old master.

Today we do not admire Dürer so much for being the teacher of the nation as for being a man who was constantly learning. His acute perception of nature and his analysis of the human psyche are his outstanding strengths.

The English art historian Kenneth Clark, often critical of Dürer elsewhere, believes his *Melancholie* is "one of the greatest prophetic documents of western civilisation. His prophetic vision is that civilisation can be destroyed from within."

Future generations will continue to be fascinated by the work of Albrecht Dürer.

Heidi Bürklin

(Die Welt, 6 April 1978)

Following the course of Heinrich Mann

Heinrich Mann was always interested in the impact of is works on his fellow countrymen. Occasionally he even had illusions.

Speaking in 1929 of his satirical novel *Der Untertan* (Man of Straw), a fierce indictment of Wilhelminian society, Mann said: "It may enlighten the new generation if it cannot change the old." Subsequent events proved how vain this hope was.

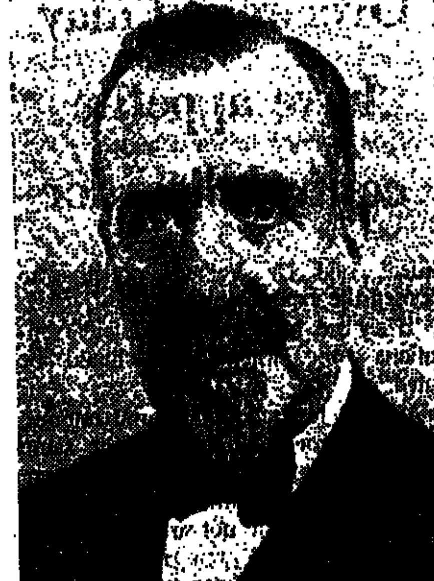
Mann was one of the leading figures in the cultural life of the Weimar Republic — a role which, according to remarks in his memoirs, *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt* (An Age Reviewed) he himself found suspect. He regarded his prominence as a particular form of political ineffectiveness.

His "painful departure" from Europe meant the end of his chances of influencing his German contemporaries. From 1940 he lived in exile in America, his work forgotten. But at least he was spared the spectacle of the two post-war German states using his work as ideological ammunition with which to pound one another.

Renate Werner's collection of texts on Mann's influence in Germany contains an informative preface, reliable textual explanations and references to relevant literature. It is published in the *Deutsche Texte* series.

Frau Werner is an expert on Mann, as she has proved in her lengthy specialist study on his early works: *Skeptizismus, Ästhetizismus, Aktivismus. Der frühe Heinrich Mann* (Düsseldorf, 1972).

She has had to select and simplify



Heinrich Mann: light for the new generation (Photo: Interpress)

somewhat for this edition and has done so impressively. She includes exemplary articles on Mann to underline how controversial a literary figure he was.

The fact that a writer of his calibre had so little influence is well worth reflecting on.

Frau Werner rightly points out that, although Mann's work is now highly thought of in academic circles, there has not yet been a equal reawakening of interest among general readers. (She also points out that there is a shortage of good introductory material on his work).

The texts in this selection not only make it possible to follow the novelist and short story writer's success and the controversies fought out over various phases of his work from *Goddesses* in 1903 to *Henry the Fourth* in 1935-38. The careful selection means this work is an ideal introduction to Mann. It is, finally, an excellent illustration of how to deal with literary — and in this case political — impact.

One might complain that the editor has put too much emphasis on Mann's early aesthetic writings and not enough on the works written in exile, but this is a secondary point.

Jean Améry wrote two years ago: "How often do we have to beg the Germans to start reading Heinrich Mann, one of their greatest authors?"

Such appeals do not help much. Frau Werner's book is a step in the right direction and contains useful practical advice for work in schools on this author. Let us hope that many German teachers avail themselves of the opportunity.

Jochen Vogt

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 April 1978)

Renate Werner (editor): *Heinrich Mann. Texte zu seiner Wirkungsgeschichte in Deutschland.* Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag / Max Niemeyer Verlag, Munich / Tübingen 1977, 207 pages, DM10.80.

YOUTH

Bundestag bid to reform parental care law runs into ideological problems

After a 20-year tug-of-war between politicians and various associations, the legislators are expected to complete the reform of the law governing parental care this year. The issue was deliberated by the Committee for Youth, Family and Health on 13 April and its report will also have a bearing on the forthcoming reform of the youth assistance law.

"The Youth Welfare Department should have acted long ago," said the neighbours after 13-year-old Manfred robbed an old woman to buy liquor.

But that is easier said than done. A child cannot simply be taken from parents and put into an institution.

On the one hand, neither youth authorities nor other government agencies want to break up families and, on the other, this is contrary to law.

Sections of the Civil Code (BGB), essentially dating back to the Bismarck era, say that the child is a kind of "property" over which the parents have authority. They thus have full control over the wellbeing of the child.

Were the youth authorities and the courts to abide by the letter of this law, children could easily feel that it would have been better not to have been born.

But certain sections of today's family and youth welfare and the adoption law provide a basis for intervention in cases like that of little Manfred.

The reform of the parental care law of the BGB, which the Coalition parties want to push through the Bundestag after a 20-year struggle, is primarily an attempt to reconcile the law with today's realities.

Where this involves mere linguistic cosmetics, as in the replacement of the term "parental authority" by "parental care", all parties are agreed.

The SPD and FDP are also trying to adapt this "care" and the wellbeing of the child to the chief element of the Constitution, the dignity of mankind.

This is based on the realisation that growing up is a protracted process which should be taken into account more than in the past by parents, legislators and the judiciary.

Children today mature earlier than those of a few generations ago. They should be permitted to progressively take part in decisions as they grow older and become more reasonable. The law should take this into account and provide the child with rights due from society, state and parents until it reaches majority.

Despite the logic of this idea and its benefit to the child, it has become controversial.

The argument runs that what might help to clarify the legal position of endangered children in the peripheral zones of society could also provide clever middle-class youths with an instrument against their parents.

Jehovah's Witnesses are a prime example. Up to now, they have been able to refuse a necessary blood transfusion for their children. In such clear-cut cases, there is no opposition to the reform.

But the churches warn against damage that could be caused if the Civil Code were to tamper with parent-child relations.

The Family Association of German Catholics said in 1975: "There can be no objection to a draft Bill demanding that a child be given a say in keeping with his physical and mental maturity and that this say increase with age.

"But this must not lead to a conflict between parents and children which would jeopardise the balance in a family and thus the parental child-rearing potential."

The dilemma is that such legislation has been designed for extreme cases while at the same time being generally applicable.

The coalition parties which tabled the draft therefore point to the meshing of the reforms of parental care legislation with the new youth assistance Bill.

All drafts and legislation in this area lay down that the youth authority, social workers and custody courts must in all cases try to solve conflicts between parents and children within the family itself by helping the parties to understand the situation.

Only when this proves impossible and when the child's development is threatened should the court remove it from the family and award it to a foster family. This is preferable to putting the child in an institution, which should be a last resort.

This means that young Manfred will not in future be put in an institution instantly. Attempts will be made to help him by counselling the mother, if necessary providing practical help in the household or making Manfred undergo psychotherapeutic treatment. But much of this is still in the future.

The actual reform of parent-child relations cannot come from the Civil Code but must come through an improved scope of action for youth authorities and higher qualifications of social workers and juvenile court judges.

The reform of the parental care law, which has become an ideological issue, costs nothing. But the cost of implementing the new youth assistance law would run into billions.

Gerard Schmidt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 April 1978)

Munich project sentences young offenders to work

The city of Munich, where 7,000 juvenile delinquent are sentenced every year, has started a three-year experiment to replace conventional punishment with work.

At present, if sixteen-year-old A steals a casette recorder in a department store and is caught by the store detective, the judge has several options. He can send him to prison for two or three weekends, hoping that punishment on the instalment plan will give him time to ponder his sins.

The same effect could be achieved by a fine, but the judge has no way of knowing how the money will be raised. He could order also A to work in a hospital for several days.

Many juvenile court judges and social workers consider the third option the best from an educational point of view for petty crimes.

But in practice such sentences cannot be passed because of lack of work places. Juvenile court assistants are frequently unable to find short-term work (usually from four hours upward).

In Munich only one member of the judiciary tried to provide work by means of personal contacts and numerous telephone calls.

Munich's experiment hopes to gain fundamental insights for juvenile criminal legislation while achieving concrete results.

The juvenile courts and court assistants, helped by private associations, are basing their work campaign on England's experience.

The programme has been started by Brücke, a society for assistance to delinquents founded in 1974.

Brücke has a permanent staff of four plus four conscientious objectors doing their national service as civilians, and expects reinforcements from trainee social-workers doing their field work.

The society also wants to explain the meaning of this punishment to delinquents. Another major objective is a comprehensive research programme over three years costing DM600,000. Two-thirds will come from the Robert Bosch Foundation, Stuttgart, and one-sixth each from Bavaria's Labour Ministry and the Munich youth authority.

Brücke will keep the court informed of work available while the judges will fix the duration of work in each case.

Apart from cases where the court wants the punishment related to the crime (as for instance cleaning of underground stations for kids who try to get away with not paying fares), everything else is to be left to *Brücke*.

Several institutions have volunteered to provide work for delinquents, among them hospitals (kitchen and garden work), the fire brigade (workshop), old peoples' homs (light orderly work), the city swimming baths (general assistance) and nieghbourhood assistance organisations (renovating of housing for the poor).

With this wide range, Christian Pfeiffer, chairman of *Brücke*, hopes that judges will in future make more use of constructive punishment.

He estimates that up to now 50 to 100 juvenile delinquents have been doing work in Munich, and hopes that this figure can be raised to 250.

Spokesmen for the juvenile court assistants are sceptical, saying that the educational value of auxiliary measures (such as conversation with the delinquents) is more important at present than an increase in numbers.

Herr Pfeiffer, too, realises that habitual thieves and juveniles for whom bullying has become a hobby are out of the question.

The only offences for which work sentences should apply (and they account for half) are those where the sentence would warrant no more than a week. As opposed to England, present legislation will not permit any "substitute sentence" for more severe offences.

Christian Pfeiffer, who is also an assistant professor of criminology in Munich, hopes that the project and the research will help extend this along British lines.

His short-term objective is to substitute work for four-week suspended prison sentences. The Bonn Ministry of Justice seems to be open-minded over reforms.

According to judges and criminologists, the value of the shift from punishment to meaningful work does not only lie in the work itself. They hold that the judges should not even start official legal proceedings leading to a sentence but make the offenders work by a simple decree. This would avoid the stigma of court proceedings.

Brücke also hopes that work for the commonweal will help unstable juvenile delinquents find a footing.

It has, for instance, happened that juveniles were sentenced to work for nieghbourhood assistance organisations and continued when their term was over.

Rudolf Grosskopf

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 April 1978)

SPORT

Supermoney: are German footballers overpaid?

Former German national centre forward Uwe Seeler believes top German footballers are blasé because they are overpaid.

There is more than a grain of truth in this. The performances of Bundesliga players recently have not been up to scratch. Many are not worth their high wages and bonuses.

It is well worth making comparisons with English clubs, Liverpool in particular, here. The players put more effort into their game and seem to take more pride in their clubs. Liverpool's performance against Gladbach was astonishing, despite their players only getting paid half of what Gladbach players get.

Liverpool players got a bonus of DM6000 for reaching the European Cup Final, a record for an English club. Gladbach, if they had reached the final, would have got a bonus of DM10,000 per man. It has been known for Bundesliga clubs to pay bonuses of 15,000 to 20,000 deutschemarks in the European Cup.

Do German stars earn too much? Yes and no. We should not forget that a professional footballer's playing life last on average only ten years. Players also run the risk of crippling injuries.

On the other hand it has to be said that clubs force prices up in their attempts to sign top players. The result is that most clubs are in the red and have highly paid players on their books not prepared to give everything.

Top players can earn up to DM400,000 gross a year. The majority of Bundesliga players earn between DM100,000 and DM200,000. But there are players who have to make do with DM40,000 a year. This huge difference does not encourage effort.

The average annual income in the Federal Republic of Germany is DM30,000.

Of course good footballers should be well paid, but when can we say they are being overpaid? The days of outstanding individual players whom thousands of fans came to see are over.

Now that Beckenbauer has gone to New York Cosmos, superstars are thin on the ground. Players such as Jürgen Grabowski and Paul Breitner come into this category, but they only serve to remind us of past glories. Hansi Müller of VFB Stuttgart could be a superstar one day.

The tax inspectors have a field day when the players return their income tax declarations. Married players earning over 100,000 deutschemarks have to pay 35 per cent of their gross income to the inland revenue, single players 43 per cent.

For players earning over DM200,000 the figures are 44 to 49 per cent. There are, of course ways of reducing the tax burden as low as 15 per cent by taking advantage of write-off possibilities. Most professional players these days rely on accountants to fill in their tax declarations for them.

The Deutscher Fussballbund (The German F.A.) keeps a close watch on the financial affairs of its club members and can expel clubs from the league if their finances are not in order. It has tried several schemes to reduce the exorbitant level of transfers fees but has failed miserably.

The rich clubs prevent "fair competition" and the poorer clubs go to the wall. Even when a player's contract expires, his club can put such a high price on him that no other club can afford him. For example, a club can demand a transfer fee of DM1,500,000 for a player earning DM300,000 a year.

While DFB officials plead for moderation on the transfer market, new records are being set. Paul Breitner has been transferred to Bayern Munich for DM1,960,000.

Wilhelm Neudecker, Bayern chairman, is also chairman of the DFB Bundesliga committee. He is not interested in paying lip service to moderation on the transfer market. His ambition is to see his club at the top again, even if it costs millions.

The league committee has set new guidelines for bonus payments. In future they are to be based on the number of league games played. Those who have played in almost every game will get the full bonus, those who have played in half the games get half.

But does the DFB seriously expect top players to accept this? Neudecker is setting a bad example, not only in the case of Paul Breitner.

The German football hierarchy does not think much of the "11 equal players" theory. The stars get the big money and the rest of the team can only stand by and watch in amazement.

The DFB has given its blessing to this two-tier system. German captain Berti Vogts appears in advertisements wearing the national team shirt. He appears in election campaign ads and ads for natural gas.

Yet in these days of total marketing in which teams receive phenomenal sums for allowing brand names to appear on the players' shirts — Dortmund gets DM85,000 per annum, Gladbach DM700,000 — no-one seems interested in outstanding players.

DM2m feet: Paul Breitner, transferred to Bayern München (Photo: Sven Simon)

German football is becoming too mechanical, too short on ideas and imagination. Morale is low, even though Kevin Keegan of Hamburg SV has been setting a fine example of total commitment.

Another problem is that the price of tickets is exorbitantly high.

All in all, German football is not what it once was.

Manfred Heun

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 15 April 1978)

Düsseldorf opts for pro tennis Nations Cup championship

Horst Klosterkemper of the Düsseldorf Rochus Tennis Club has told the International Grand Prix Committee that his club no longer wants to stage the Düsseldorf tennis grand prix.

This is a highly unusual move. Most tournament organisers would consider themselves fortunate to be able to stage the event.

Klosterkemper had an ace up his sleeve when he wrote to the grand prix managers. He had been negotiating with the players' association, ATP, for the right to hold the ATP Nations' Cup competition in Düsseldorf.

There were two factors in his favour when he applied: his excellent contact in the tennis world, particularly with the ATP, and the popularity of the Rochus Club itself with international tennis stars.

Klosterkemper's gamble paid off. The Rochus Club will stage the world professional championship event from 8 to 15 May. The ATP has also promised that the club will hold the tournament four more times in future years.

The system by which the winner of the Nations' Cup is decided is both fair and simple. Eight teams, each containing a minimum of two and a maximum of four players from a given country, take part. Seven teams qualify as a result of their players' placing on ATP rankings two months before the tournament starts.

The eighth team is chosen by the tournament organiser according to whatever criteria he wishes.

The teams taking part in this year's Nations' Cup are, in order of qualification points: the USA, Spain, Australia, Italy, Great Britain, Sweden, Chile. The eighth team, nominated by the organiser, is West Germany.

Although the deadline for top players to declare whether they intend to represent their countries is April 24, many stars have already committed themselves.

Manuel Orantes and Jose Higueras will represent Spain, Phil Dent and three times Wimbledon champion John Newcombe (Australia), Christopher "Buster" Mottram and John Lloyd (Britain), Jaime Fillol and Hans Gildemeister (Chile), Karl Meiler and Jürgen Fassbender (Federal Republic of Germany).

The Italian players Adriano Panatta and Corrado Barazzutti are expected to announce their entry in the next few days.

As ten of the top 20 places in the rankings are occupied by US players, it is clear that the USA will be competing. The question is which players will be representing the world's leading tennis nation.

Another is whether Sweden will play. It looks as if Björn Borg will qualify for the finals of the WCT tournament which takes place at the same time as the Nations' Cup. If so, Borg would be bound by his WCT contract to play in Dallas.

Without Borg, who is number four in ATP rankings, Sweden would lose its right to compete and its place would be taken by Jan Kodes and Tomas Smid of Czechoslovakia, higher placed than the two next best Swedes, Kjell Johnsson and Ove Bengtson.

Two groups will be formed, each consisting of four teams. Each points match will consist of two singles and one doubles match. The singles have to be played by players on ATP rankings. The singles' players can then choose their partners for the doubles.

The two top teams in each group go into the semi-final, where the second in one group will play the first in the next and vice-versa.

The winners of the tournament get 60,000 of the total sponsorship money of 200,000 dollars put up by a French cosmetics manufacturer. The players decide how to split the money. The losing finalists get 40,000 dollars.

Although the ATP always stresses that it is not trying to compete with the Davis Cup, there is an astonishing resemblance between the new competition and the reformed version of the Davis Cup which professionals have been trying to introduce for some time.

The International Tennis Federation and the national associations have expressed their disapproval of the Düsseldorf event.

The German Tennis Association has said that the Nations Cup competitition is not a bona fide international competition as the players do not represent the national associations. The teams simply consist of players of the same nationality. At the same time, the DTB hints that it welcomes the competition as adding interest to the international tennis scene in Germany. This is a friendly gesture.

Fears have been expressed that the competition could rival the German championships in Hamburg. They are unfounded. The German championships will be held shortly after the Düsseldorf competition [illegible] Düsseldorf event is likely to increase interest in the Hamburg event, for which the prize money is 175,000 dollars.

There is nothing more natural for the top players than to travel up from the Rhine and take part in the competition in Hamburg-Rothenbaum.

Tennis fans in and around Düsseldorf will not care much whether the competition is official or unofficial. The main thing is that top world players will be competing. Fans who cannot get to Düsseldorf will be pleased to hear that ZDF — the second German television channel — will be broadcasting more than three hours a day of the competition live.

Christoph Emmerich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 April 1978)